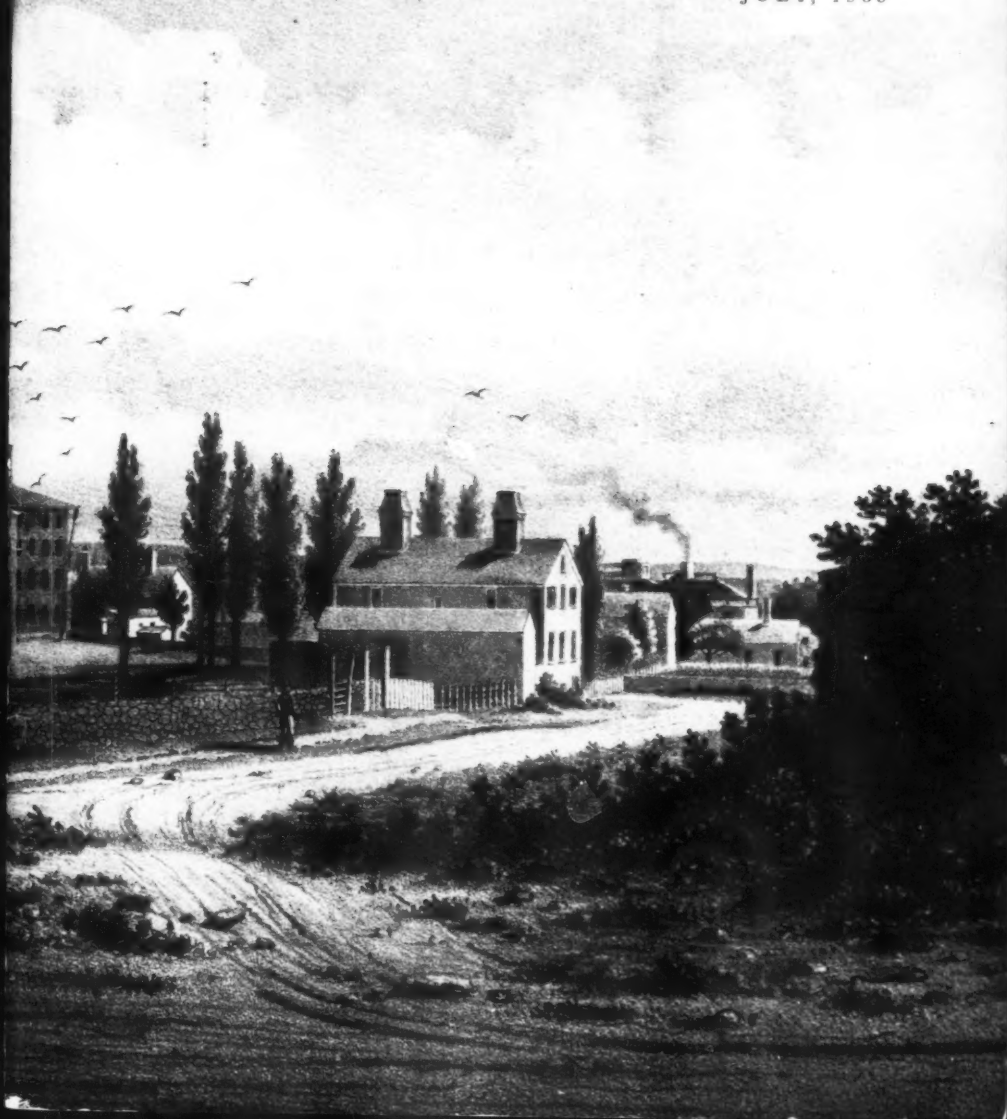


# RHODE ISLAND HISTORY

VOL. 19, NO. 3

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**COVER**

*Brown University as it appeared at the beginning of President Wayland's term of office in 1827. On the right is the president's house and on the left, next to University Hall, is Hope College, built in 1822.*

*From a lithograph in the Society's collection drawn by James Kidder and published by the Senefelder Lithographic Company, Boston.*

# RHODE ISLAND HISTORY

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## FRANCIS WAYLAND AND THE RESIDENTIAL COLLEGE

by THEODORE R. CRANE

Department of History, Duke University

### I

THE TWO DORMITORY QUADRANGLES erected by Brown University during the past decade have altered the appearance of the East Side of Providence. Their modified Georgian architecture suggests the eighteenth-century style of Brown's first College Edifice, and their courtyards and archways recall the cloistered plan of an English college, but their interior design is functional, providing modern student living quarters. By now it is evident that they have succeeded in maintaining the residential character of student life at Brown, thus preserving one of the oldest features of the American college which urban institutions have often abandoned.

Historically the first quadrangle, dedicated in 1952, is more significant. Its erection was a major achievement of President Henry M. Wriston, after whom it was subsequently named. Conceived as "a home for the liberal ideal," its buildings and courts were dedicated as memorials to faculty members and alumni who "cherished the great aims of Brown." Here undergraduate life could be more effectively supervised than in the older dormitories. Nine houses were to have "resident fellows," who would be "neither proctors nor disciplinary officers, but exemplars of the scholar's way of life."<sup>1</sup>

The Wriston Quadrangle was also designed to preserve and strengthen Greek-letter fraternities. The decision to make such a "costly investment in fraternity life" had been a controversial one, for vigorous opponents insisted that the chapters made no positive con-

<sup>1</sup>Henry M. Wriston, "The Inspiration and the Hopes," *Brown Alumni Monthly*, LII (June, 1952), 14.

tribution to the college. President Wriston and his associates, however, were impressed by the fact that "a disproportionate number" of the alumni upon whom the University's reputation and progress depended were fraternity men. They pointed to "historical tradition — an element in the life of every university, but unusually potent in old institutions." Brown had been "among the first to permit fraternities," and it seemed "wiser to attempt to reinvigorate a waning tradition rather than abandon it." Hence every effort was made to enhance the attractiveness of fraternity life in the Quadrangle. Flexible corridor partitions allowed chapter houses to acquire additional bedrooms at the expense of the independent dormitories as their membership grew, and President Wriston hoped they would once again enroll a majority of the student body. Obviously in their new location the fraternities could be scrutinized more closely than before by the University authorities, but they were not assigned resident fellows. "The problems of living together in peace and happiness . . . are left where they belong, for the boys to work out for themselves."<sup>2</sup>

At the portal of the Quadrangle stood the first University building named in honor of Brown's fourth president, Francis Wayland, who had retired nearly a century before. In his dedicatory address President Wriston proclaimed its significance:

The inspiration goes back to President Wayland's epochal report to the Corporation of Brown University, and the quadrangles embody the ideal which he stated with explicit clarity 100 years before the date incised on the weather vane over the tower of Wayland House (1950). It was singularly appropriate, therefore, that we entered through the building named for him and that the cornerstone for the whole project is set in its wall. Although he did not visualize structures of this size, or in this precise form, nonetheless the root idea was his, and virtually every successor has — with greater or less insistence and eloquence — advocated what now appears around us.<sup>3</sup>

Francis Wayland's statement in 1850 was, as President Wriston noted, "somewhat negative"<sup>4</sup> in tone:

We assume the responsibility of a superintendence which we have

<sup>2</sup>Henry M. Wriston, *Educational Housing* (Providence, 1946), 15, 18, 20, 22.

<sup>3</sup>Wriston, "The Inspiration and the Hopes," 14; see also Henry M. Wriston, "What Is It All About: the Idea of a University," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, XVII (October 15, 1951), 5-10.

<sup>4</sup>Wriston, "The Inspiration and the Hopes," 14.

rendered ourselves incapable of fulfilling; . . . we have lost the humanizing effect produced by the daily association of students with older and well bred gentlemen, so obvious in an English college; and . . . we have expended almost all the funds appropriated to education in the construction of unsightly buildings, we had almost said barracks, for which, perhaps, the highest merit that can be claimed is, that they are not positively and universally a nuisance.<sup>5</sup>

This passage had been cited repeatedly in appeals to alumni to contribute to the Quadrangle.<sup>6</sup> Though it contains no call for commodious dormitories, resident fellows, or a strengthened fraternity system, twentieth-century Brunonians might well assume that such a vigorous indictment of the college's inadequacies in 1850 was intended to inspire corrective measures. Wayland's "contemporaries failed to understand him, and did nothing," President Wriston declared.<sup>7</sup> The negative language, however, is extremely significant, for in fact Wayland's remarks were the result of years of disillusionment with the whole system of college residence, and what he desired in 1850 was the abolition of dormitories at Brown. This story is worth examining, not only for its bearing on the quadrangles, but also because it illuminates one of the most perplexing problems President Wayland faced during his long and eventful administration.

## II

Only once during his presidency did Francis Wayland propose any physical alterations in Brown University to lighten his disciplinary duties or improve the environment in which undergraduates lived and worked. This was in 1827, not in 1850. As part of a comprehensive scheme for reinvigorating the institution which he presented in the first year of his administration he urged that it should be removed to a new site and entirely rebuilt. He suggested no specific location, but evidently hoped that it could be resettled some distance from the town of Providence.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup>[Francis Wayland], *Report to the Corporation of Brown University, on Changes in the System of Collegiate Education, Read March 28, 1850* (Providence, 1850), 10.

<sup>6</sup>Wriston, *Educational Housing*, 12; [Brown University], *A Home for the Liberal Ideal* (Providence, n.d.), [6-7.]

<sup>7</sup>*Educational Housing*, 12.

<sup>8</sup>Francis Wayland, *Report to the Corporation*, September 1, 1827; Eliphalet Nott to Francis Wayland, July 7 [1827]. (Unless otherwise indicated all unpublished materials cited are in Brown University Library.)

The inspiration for this project undoubtedly came from Union College, where Wayland had spent two years as an undergraduate and four as a tutor. During this period the energetic lobbying of Union's President Eliphalet Nott secured a substantial income from lotteries, which enabled him to remove the institution from the heart of Schenectady to a broad hilltop overlooking the Mohawk valley. When Wayland began his tutorship in 1817, Union occupied one of the first planned campuses in America, designed by the French engineer, Joseph Jacques Ramée. Here were no compact English university quadrangles; instead spacious lawns and long colonnaded structures suggested an aristocratic plaza or formally designed country estate. Artistically Ramée's forum campus was a fit setting for Union College, whose seal bore the head of Minerva along with French and Latin inscriptions celebrating the virtues of brotherhood, but the long open buildings were no better adapted to close supervision of students than the dormitories Wayland condemned at Brown in 1850.<sup>9</sup>

In 1827, however, Wayland idealized the environment he had known at Union. Brown University's location concerned him more than its architecture, though he thought University Hall ill-designed for the maintenance of discipline.<sup>10</sup> Ramée's campus seemed safe from the distractions of Schenectady; College Hill, Providence, was too close to the bustling seaport below. He sought President Nott's counsel, but Nott's enigmatic reply was hardly helpful. "The Institution must," he wrote, "be *in* Town or *out* of it, . . . no gain would result from moving it at all if it is to be placed between the two."<sup>11</sup> In any case, Brown had no funds to spare for such a grandiose scheme. The removal project met its death in a Corporation committee, and Wayland never again urged it.<sup>12</sup> Since the college remained in Providence, it became his duty to protect his students from the town's corrupting influences. By 1842 the question of site seemed irrelevant to him.

. . . It matters really but little whether an Institution be situated in a town or in the country. Place it where you will, in a few years, there will cluster around it all the opportunities of idle and vicious expenditure. Under such circumstances, it is obvious that no physi-

<sup>9</sup>Talbot Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America* (New York, 1944), 39-42, plates I-II; Codman Hislop, *The Mohawk* (New York, 1948), 290-293.

<sup>10</sup>Francis Wayland, Report to the Corporation, September 1, 1827.

<sup>11</sup>Eliphalet Nott to Francis Wayland, July 7 [1827].

<sup>12</sup>Minutes, September 6, 1827, Brown University Corporation Records, II (1810-1843), University Hall, Brown University.

cal means can be devised which shall furnish such supervision as will present an impassable barrier to unlawful inclination.<sup>13</sup>

On College Hill Wayland set about to create the paternalistic atmosphere he had known in Schenectady. Union College had been almost a self-sufficient community: the president, professors, and their families, and the tutors boarded in Ramée's new colleges with their pupils, who, as far as practicable, were "entirely separated from the great world."<sup>14</sup> Wayland's theories of discipline showed Nott's influence. The control of "impulsive and thoughtless young men," he insisted, was necessarily different from the government of adults. It must be "conciliatory, kind, persuasive, or, in a word, parental."<sup>15</sup> His colleagues recalled his "pervading sense of the responsibility of his position as the head of the college, and especially as the guardian and teacher of young men."<sup>16</sup> "Young men in general reside at college during that time at which their habits are more easily formed than at any other which precedes or which follows it," he wrote.<sup>17</sup> "It is no trifling matter to waste about two years of a man's life and . . . to inflict an injury that can never be remedied."<sup>18</sup> "But a few men fail for want of intellect," he told his first senior class. "There are two sources of failure in the world, first moral deviation, second indolence."<sup>19</sup> If vigilant attention could assure it, there would be little of either at Brown.

"Discipline was an unseen element in our college life," one alumnus recalled,<sup>20</sup> but President Wayland was ever alert for signs of threat-

<sup>13</sup>Francis Wayland, *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States* (Boston, 1842), 119-120.

<sup>14</sup>Eliphalet Nott to Samuel Nott, c. 1806, quoted in C. Van Santvoord, *Memoirs of Eliphalet Nott, D.D., LL.D., for Sixty-Two Years President of Union College* (New York, 1878), 120-121.

<sup>15</sup>Francis Wayland, *Reminiscences of his life* [composed 1860-1865], 109 (hereafter cited as *Reminiscences*); revised in Francis Wayland and H. L. Wayland, *A Memoir of the Life and Labors of Francis Wayland, D.D., LL.D., Late President of Brown University* (New York, 1867), I, 263 (hereafter cited as *Memoir*).

<sup>16</sup>Professor William Gammell, quoted in *Memoir*, I, 294.

<sup>17</sup>Francis Wayland, Suggestions submitted to the Board of Fellows in relation to the present condition of the course of instruction in the University and the points in which it may be capable of improvement, n.d. [c. August 31, 1841].

<sup>18</sup>Francis Wayland to Silas Bailey, June 20, 1840; see also his introductory address to the American Institute of Instruction, Boston, August 19, 1830, in Francis Wayland, *Occasional Discourses, Including Several Never Before Published* (Boston, 1833), 308.

<sup>19</sup>Williams Latham (class of 1827), *Diary* [April 20], 1827.

<sup>20</sup>James C. Seagrave (class of 1845), *Recollections* [prepared for Walter C. Bronson, c. 1912-1914].



THE CINCINNATI GATE OF THE WRISTON QUADRANGLE, 1950  
(Given by the Alumni of Cincinnati, Ohio)



ening trouble. His "eyes were in every place, and his authority was as irresistible as an Alpine glacier."<sup>21</sup> During difficult periods, "every part of the buildings was subject at all hours to his visits."<sup>22</sup> When serious offenders were apprehended, he dealt with them as quietly as possible. Sometimes he was satisfied after an interview that the culprit would reform; occasionally he concluded that a student must be dismissed, which he did inconspicuously.<sup>23</sup> In these techniques he imitated Eliphalet Nott.

Many of the provisions of Wayland's first code of college laws were designed to protect students from the moral dangers of Providence. Undergraduates were required "to be constantly in their respective chambers, and diligently to pursue their studies, except in the hours allowed for recreation." Visits to "the theatre, or any place of public amusement," or attendance at "any festival entertainment in College, or in the town of Providence or elsewhere" were forbidden. Students could not leave the campus during study hours, whether for business or diversion, without permission from a faculty member. They could not go more than two miles from Providence during term time unless they had secured written permission to do so from the president. During vacations, on the other hand, all pupils who were not local residents were required to leave the community.<sup>24</sup>

Within the college walls every possible precaution was taken to discourage idleness and misbehavior. A college student, Wayland wrote in 1842, "requires to be much more directly under the influence of his instructor; he needs to be quickened, and directed by counsel and personal intercourse; otherwise he is tempted to spend much of his time in frivolous reading and in useless amusement. His habits are not yet formed, and nothing but assiduous attention will be likely to form them aright."<sup>25</sup> Hence in 1827 he revived a provision formerly in the University statutes requiring faculty members to make regular visits to student rooms during study hours. Wayland recalled this

<sup>21</sup>R. E. Pattison, *Discourse on the Life and Character of Rev. Francis Wayland, D.D. Late President of Brown University, R. I.* (Alton, Ill., 1866), 15.

<sup>22</sup>George I. Chace (class of 1830), *The Virtues and Services of Francis Wayland* (Providence, 1866), 24.

<sup>23</sup>Seagrave, *Recollections*.

<sup>24</sup>*The Laws Of Brown University, in Providence, Rhode-Island; Enacted by the Corporation, March, 1827* (Providence, n.d. [1827]), chapter IV, section 1; chapter VI, sections 4, 6; chapter IX, sections 2, 6 (hereafter cited as *Laws of 1827*).

<sup>25</sup>*Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System*, 117.

policy years later as an expression of benevolent paternalism. "Occasionally the presence of the officer delivered you from the company of unwelcome visitors, and, perhaps, sometimes saved you from the misfortune of wasting the time of others."<sup>26</sup> The tone of his original legislation was much grimmer. Visits might be made "at any hour of the day or night." A student's refusal to grant entry could be "considered as a misdemeanour" and punished accordingly. An officer was permitted to "break open his door if he shall deem the case to require it." Other rules imposed strict controls on student gatherings. No meetings, except of the literary societies, could be held unless written application had been made to the president and he had approved the proposed agenda.<sup>27</sup>

These regulations were obviously designed to forestall conspiracy and rebellion as well as to promote industrious habits. They were the basis for President Wayland's stern yet kindly rule over Brown University.

The object was to render the college a place of real study and improvement; to establish the existence of authority on the part of the officers, and of obedience on the part of the students, and to do this without the spirit of harshness and severity, but in the spirit of love and good will.<sup>28</sup>

A college was "an intermediate place between the family & society, to prepare the student for entrance upon the practical duties of life." It must be governed by laws which were "simple, just, kind, and of such a character that they could be shown to be right and good, both to parents and pupils." These statutes must be administered with consistency; excessive leniency might do lasting damage to a pupil's character. "By making every young man know that he must be accountable for his own actions," the college could "prepare him for becoming a member of society, where this rule is to be enforced under more severe penalties."<sup>29</sup>

Alumni reminiscences suggest how Francis Wayland governed

<sup>26</sup>Speech at Centennial dinner, September 6, 1864, quoted in *Memoir*, I, 211. To enforce this policy President Wayland required full time service from all faculty members, leading to the departure of Tristram Burges, professor of oratory, and the destruction of the Brown medical school.

<sup>27</sup>*Laws of 1827*, chapter VII, section 4; chapter VI, section 10; chapter XII, sections 5-6.

<sup>28</sup>Reminiscences, 93; revised in *Memoir* I, 206.

<sup>29</sup>Reminiscences, 108; revised in *Memoir*, I, 262.

Brown University. He was a man of strong emotions, often extremely blunt, but his severity was leavened by mercy. "All this notion of coaxing young men to be good is well enough for the marines, but it won't do for old sailors," he wrote the President of the University of Alabama in 1847. "All the radicalism and folly so prevalent in the notions existing in regard to governing men result from a forgetfulness and neglect of the old doctrines (did you ever hear of it in your youth?) of the moral depravity of man."<sup>30</sup> He "often expressed his admiration for Homer's picture of Jupiter, wherein the god is described as shaking Olympus by his mere nod."<sup>31</sup> Pious Christian students viewed him with awe. "No man ever ploughed through my conscience like Francis Wayland," one recalled. "He brought me into the presence of the great, the awful, the merciful God."<sup>32</sup> Robert E. Pattison, Wayland's pastor during the early thirties, has supplied the best picture of him as the autocrat of the college community:

The Freshmen did not know him, and were ordinarily afraid of him. The Sophomores, knowing but little beside his interference with Young America, disliked him. The Juniors, though they began to respect him, were silent; at least sparing in their praise. . . . But the Seniors, after coming under his personal influence, specially in the recitation room, not only revered, but loved him as a father. But Dr. Wayland's most affectionate admirers are the most distinguished of his older graduates, who are able to measure the rich fruits he has enabled them to garner. Their admiration is a species of idolatry.

This shows that there must have been in Dr. Wayland's character, elements in conflict with each other. . . . He had in fact a tender heart. But there was also in it much live oak. He was quick to pity, but *rigidly* just. As these characteristics alternated, so thoroughly marked was each, that his character sometimes appeared inconsistent with itself. His friends who comprehended him knew better. . . . He *saw* with wonderful clearness the true and *felt* the right; and while Christ-like in his forgiveness to the student, to the friend, to any one, he was inflexible in maintaining what he deemed to be right.<sup>33</sup>

### III

Francis Wayland never dared to relax his vigilant supervision of student conduct. As Providence grew its moral hazards multiplied.

<sup>30</sup>Francis Wayland to Basil Manly, July 23, 1847.

<sup>31</sup>George P. Fisher (class of 1847), "The Late President Wayland," *The New Englander*, XXV (January, 1866), 141.

<sup>32</sup>Jonah G. Warren (class of 1835), remarks at American Baptist Missionary Union meeting, Boston, May 23, 1866, *The Macedonian*, XXIV (July, 1866), 2.

<sup>33</sup>Pattison, *Francis Wayland*, 14-15.

In 1838 he "stood up, clothed in his completest official terrors, and warned us not to go to the Dorrance Street Theatre, which that night was to restore the drama to Providence," began one account of such a forbidden expedition.<sup>34</sup> More serious than the temptations regularly offered by theaters, museums, and billiard parlors were the perils which arose when religious or political excitement swept the community. In the winter of 1841-1842 Jacob Knapp, a zealous Baptist evangelist given to intemperate personal denunciation of those who criticized his methods, arrived in Providence to revive the ardor of the city's Christians. Except for the Third Baptist Church most congregations received him inhospitably. President Wayland tolerated his efforts at first, and many Brown students attended his preaching, but when Knapp demanded to be heard in the college chapel and insinuated that the University authorities were indifferent to the religious welfare of their pupils, his attitude changed. Soon he discovered that students excused to attend religious meetings often went to the theater instead. At once he forbade further participation in the revivalist's services, and suspended several pupils who violated his injunction.<sup>35</sup>

Wayland's action sprang from deep anxieties. Knapp's charge that he had neglected the religious interests of his students both angered and depressed him, for he was constantly preoccupied with the state of piety on College Hill and viewed his responsibilities as a religious counselor with the utmost seriousness. Taking a favorite young tutor aside, he "walked his room in silence for some time, and then said, in measured words, and half in soliloquy, 'I feel ashamed and humbled before God that I have no more piety.'" Then stopping and staring intensely he added: "If this be the spirit of piety . . . , I want nothing to do with it."<sup>36</sup> To another friend he confided his contempt for revivalists who set out

to demand that every one must agree & cooperate in doctrines and measures which they disapprove or be ordered around as children of the devil, to collect crowds by buffoonery & vulgarity, to pass off

<sup>34</sup>Charles T. Congdon (class of 1841, non-graduate), *Reminiscences of a Journalist* (Boston, 1880), 175.

<sup>35</sup>*The Autobiography of Elder Jacob Knapp* (New York, 1868), 122-124; Elbridge Smith (class of 1841), *The Founders of the Institute and Its First President. An Address Delivered Before the American Institute of Instruction, . . . Boston, August 1, 1867* (Boston, 1867), 53-55; Francis Wayland, Report to the Corporation, September 6, 1842.

<sup>36</sup>Smith, *The Founders of the Institute*, 54-55.

the most insufferable arrogance under the name of humility, to create new tests of piety, . . . to use the vilest acts of hard cider politicians for the sake of creating popular effect.<sup>37</sup>

Only a few months after Knapp's departure came the Dorr insurrection, which Wayland viewed with deep foreboding as a grave constitutional and moral crisis. Dorr had few supporters among the students; the Dorrites later recalled Brown University as a "hot bed of Federal Whiggery."<sup>38</sup> Throughout the suffrage dispute Professor William Giles Goddard had been their dedicated foe, and at its crisis Francis Wayland joined in a public denunciation of Dorrism.<sup>39</sup> During that anxious summer of 1842 classes were suspended and the college buildings used to quarter troops, as had been done during the Revolutionary War.<sup>40</sup>

By comparison the rest of the decade was peaceful, but Wayland's concern did not diminish. On every occasion he shielded his students from political excitement and reform agitation. In 1836 when organized abolition came to Providence a number of Brunonians attended the Rhode-Island Anti-Slavery Convention, much to the president's displeasure.<sup>41</sup> A decade later a group of undergraduates with different opinions gained control of an abolitionist assembly and heckled Wendell Phillips.<sup>42</sup> After such episodes Wayland forbade his pupils to deliver temperance addresses and refused them permission to attend the Mechanics Association lecture series at which his friend Charles Sumner was to speak.<sup>43</sup> When he established regular Sunday services in the college chapel in 1843, he gave as one of his reasons that the sermons delivered in Providence churches "were adapted to nearly all classes, other than that of students." Worship in an assembly of the

<sup>37</sup>Francis Wayland to Isaac Davis, February 4, 1842 (copy).

<sup>38</sup>*Republican Herald* (Providence), July 28, 1852.

<sup>39</sup>Francis Wayland, *The Affairs of Rhode Island. A Discourse Delivered in the Meeting House of the First Baptist Church, Providence, May 22, 1842* (Providence, 1842).

<sup>40</sup>Francis Wayland, Report to the Corporation, September 6, 1842; see also Wilson Smith, *Philosophers & Public Ethics: Studies of Northern Moral Philosophers Before the Civil War* (Ithaca, 1956), chapter VII: "Francis Wayland and the Dorr War."

<sup>41</sup>*Proceedings of the Rhode-Island Anti-Slavery Convention, Held in Providence, on the 2d, 3d, and 4th of February, 1836* (Providence, 1836), 4; recollections of William L. Brown (class of 1836), in Robert P. Brown, et al., comps., *Memories of Brown: Traditions and Recollections Gathered from Many Sources* (Providence, 1909), 59-60.

<sup>42</sup>Recollections of Charles R. Cullen (class of 1846), in *Memories of Brown*, 80.

<sup>43</sup>Edward L. Pierce (class of 1850) to Henry L. Pierce, November 3, 1846.

University community, he believed, was more conducive to piety than attendance at a city church, "surrounded by no friends save the common race of mankind."<sup>44</sup>

There were growing dangers within the college as well. Brown undergraduates responded all too readily to appeals from their fellow students in other institutions. In 1835 President Wayland successfully resisted a determined protest by the senior class against the ancient custom of assigning commencement orations according to academic rank. This episode was part of a campaign waged by students in several New England colleges at the time, and their cause had won the approval of President Nathan Lord of Dartmouth.<sup>45</sup>

Only two years later another disturbing sign of intercollegiate organizational zeal appeared when a group of students sought permission to establish a branch of the Alpha Delta Phi society.<sup>46</sup> The Greek-letter fraternity had arrived on College Hill. Founded in the twenties and thirties at Union and Hamilton in New York, fraternities had already taken root in New England. In fact they came to Brown rather late and multiplied there rather slowly.<sup>47</sup> Their success indicated that they satisfied important emotional needs which found no outlet in existing extracurricular activities. After experiencing together the regimentation of the recitation room and enforced study hours undergraduates sought group activities which were entirely their own. Fraternities insisted that academic fellowship was one of their purposes, but they provided much more than the cultural diversion furnished by the older literary and debating societies. Their mystical rites offered an escape from rigid college rules and the solemn imperatives of evangelical piety; hence their very existence was an implicit challenge to the authorities. Most college presidents were bewildered when fraternities appeared, but they were suspicious of their purposes and accepted them only grudgingly as a permanent element in academic life. This distrust was at first intuitive; fraterni-

<sup>44</sup>Elijah B. Stoddard (class of 1847), *Diary*, September 24 [1843].

<sup>45</sup>Francis Wayland, *Statement of facts by the President to the Board of Fellows*, September 1, 1835 (typewritten copy); Francis Wayland to Jeremiah Day, July 16, 1835, Jeremiah Day Papers, Yale University Library; Joshua Bates to Francis Wayland, March 3, 1835.

<sup>46</sup>Francis Wayland to Jeremiah Day, January 3, 1837, Jeremiah Day Papers, Yale University Library.

<sup>47</sup>See Walter C. Bronson, *The History of Brown University, 1764-1914* (Providence, 1914), 241, for dates of the establishment of seven fraternities at Brown before 1855.

ties became permanently fixed in the affections of alumni before their significance was fully realized by college administrators.<sup>48</sup>

The appearance of the new organizations at Brown troubled Francis Wayland deeply. He was most disturbed by their secrecy, but their intercollegiate character also alarmed him. Such groups, "fraternizing with other societies in all the colleges of the country & under the veil of secrecy" seemed "very liable to great abuse," and likely to be made "an instrument of combination [without] limit for any purpose."<sup>49</sup> Other dangers could arise if the brotherhoods turned to "purposes of secret conviviality."<sup>50</sup>

Despite his concern, Wayland's treatment of fraternities was cautious and temporizing, and ultimately he resigned himself to a distrustful acceptance of their existence. When the chapters first appeared in the thirties he took no action to suppress them. In 1844 he pointed out to the Corporation several "grave objections" to the societies: their secrecy, affiliated character, and "the strifes which they are calculated to engender." In response the governing boards directed the faculty to suppress them.<sup>51</sup> No such action was taken however. It is likely that Wayland sought an affirmation of his power to abolish the chapters which he did not intend to use if milder measures would suffice to control them. In 1846 he indicated to President Hitchcock of Amherst his willingness to join other colleges in the abolition of secret societies if this seemed desirable, but he preferred not to act alone.<sup>52</sup> Shortly afterwards he reported that the Brown faculty had "taken all the means in their power to bring these associations within the control of the laws of the University, or else suppress them altogether." Actually Wayland had simply examined their records and exacted a pledge from their officers to obey all University regulations. He concluded that the "proposed design of

<sup>48</sup>See Frederick Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins and the Log. Williams College, 1836-1872* (New Haven, 1956), 101-117.

<sup>49</sup>Francis Wayland to Jeremiah Day, January 3, 1837, Jeremiah Day Papers, Yale University Library; see also Elijah B. Stoddard (class of 1847), Diary, September 18, 1845, and Francis Wayland to Edward Hitchcock, August 3, 1846 (photostat), Hitchcock Memorial Room, Amherst College.

<sup>50</sup>Francis Wayland, Report to the Corporation, September 1, 1846.

<sup>51</sup>Francis Wayland, Report to the Corporation, September 3, 1844; Resolution approved by Corporation, September 5, 1844, Brown University Corporation Records, III (1844-1866), University Hall, Brown University.

<sup>52</sup>Francis Wayland to Edward Hitchcock, August 3, 1846 (photostat), Hitchcock Memorial Room, Amherst College.



. . . these societies is merely literary and social, and, therefore, so far as their object is concerned, they are innocent."<sup>53</sup> Several new statutes were enacted to regulate them. Fraternity meetings were confined to Saturday afternoons, the time already set aside for the college's two literary and debating societies. Chapter records were to be open to the president, who could attend fraternity meetings or assign a colleague to do so.<sup>54</sup>

Under these rules the fraternity system took root at Brown, a development which Francis Wayland had not encouraged. It never occurred to him that the chapters might be useful to the University as centers of alumni loyalty. Their ceremonial and the badges and trappings which distinguished their members he dismissed as "childish," involving "all the foolery of freemasonry on a small scale." The jealousy and bad feeling aroused among students by the societies' "perpetual altercations with each other" caused "greater unkindness and ill feeling than almost anything else in college."<sup>55</sup> Though he feared the evil consequences of organizations affiliated with undergraduate groups in other colleges, he could not have been expected to foresee the growth of national bureaucracies, bias clauses, and other features of the fraternity system which recent critics have attacked. But its very existence threatened the sober and pious atmosphere he labored to preserve on College Hill. Undoubtedly Wayland agreed with the University's librarian and historian, Reuben A. Guild, who concluded that "Secret Societies . . . originate with the Devil, all of them."<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup>Francis Wayland, Report to the Corporation, September 1, 1846.

<sup>54</sup>September 3, 1846. Brown University Corporation Records, III (1844-1866), University Hall, Brown University. Edward L. Pierce (class of 1850) to Henry L. Pierce, November 3, 1846, suggests that a determined student protest had induced President Wayland to abandon his original intention of banning all fraternity meetings.

<sup>55</sup>[Francis Wayland], Review of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.*, *North American Review*, LIX (October, 1844), 391; Francis Wayland to Edward Hitchcock, August 3, 1846 (photostat), Hitchcock Memorial Room, Amherst College.

<sup>56</sup>Reuben A. Guild to Heman Lincoln Wayland, December 22, 1852.

[to be concluded]



## A TORY'S CLAIM TO THE WANTON ESTATES

by SYDNEY W. JACKMAN

Assistant Professor of History, Bates College

[concluded from April, 1960, v. 19, no. 2, page 61]

London, Percy street, Jan 28. 1793.

Dear Madam

The letter you wrote to me the 23rd instant found me confined to my house from a cold I caught the beginning of the last week, which has renewed the symptoms of my late indisposition, and utterly unfits me for attending to the subject of our correspondence; but as soon as I can look at it again, I will endeavour to explain myself to you upon the proposal you make to me.

I never doubted that this business must give you great uneasiness: I have therefore treated it, on my part, with all the tenderness in my power.

I am sorry that Mr. Wanton has written to you in an hasty manner: but I trust he will think better, when he has thought more of the matter.

We give you many thanks for the kind regards you express for us, and we beg you would accept a return of equal attachment and esteem.

yours sincerely

W. B.

Kind compliments

to your fireside.

Mrs. Wilkinson.

\* \* \*

Percy street, Jan. 31, 1793.

Sir

Your letter finds me still confined to my house, and unable to do business, or I should comply with your request respecting the bond, and the interest due thereon: but if you will apply to Mr. Coore, he will supply you with the papers you wish for, and any farther information in his power to afford you.

I have been led to believe, that the heirs were from time to time consulting and corresponding with each other upon this business. When Major Morrison and Captain Darby left me in June last for Stockton, they assured me, that in consequence of my letter of the 25 of May preceding, they would in their absence endeavour to obtain a resolution of the parties, and acquaint me with it. I heard nothing however from

either of them; and in nov. last I desired the Major to inform me whether they had come to any agreement. In answer to my letter he acquainted me, "that the sentiments of the parties concerned were inimical to my wishes." By which I understood (as it seems was intended) that they do not acknowledge the debt and that they are resolved not to pay it.

It gives me great uneasiness to be obliged to move and to urge a matter that so nearly affects Mr. J. Wanton, but the duty I owe my family obliges me first to consult what is due to them.

I am

Sir

your most obedient Servant

Wm. Browne

Wm. Atherton Esq.

\* \* \*

february 6. 1793.

Dear Madam

I embrace the earliest opportunity in my power to lay before you the following computation of the debt due to me from your father's heirs. Principal £952.10.0. Massachusetts currency with interest at 6% from oct. 17. 1770

476. 5.0.	Colonel Joseph Wanton's half to pay with interest
635.15.4.	interest from oct. 17. 1770 to January. 17. 1793.
1112. 0.4.	currency.

equal to 834. 0.3. sterling due to Wm. Browne.

As I neither have suppressed, nor wish to conceal from you, any circumstance respecting my claim, which I think you ought to know, I add, that your uncle paid me, on his part, agreeably to his own proposal, only £500 with the interest from the 16th of october 1790. (when the bond was renewed, because it was near expiring from age) to the day that he made the payment, being 42.10.0. sterling.

I know how very unpleasant matters of this sort are to all that are concerned in them. I have endeavoured therefore to reconcile my mind to the sacrifice of interest, which I have already made, purely from an hope, that it would be the means of preserving an happy intercourse among us.

As to your proportion of it, I trust a moments reflexion will satisfy you, that it is not proper for me to apportion it among the individuals. My demand is at present against them jointly: they will contribute their respective shares, as they see fit, or may agree among themselves.

Before I take leave of you, it will not be amiss to observe, that about the time I made my engagement to Mr. Winthrop for your father and uncle, I made a similar one to Mr. R. Lechmere, for a Mr. Eliot, an old friend and College-Class-mate. This debt was due when the rebellion broke out; and the state seized upon it in Eliot's hands, as my property, and I lost it forever. Notwithstanding which, Mr. Lechmere demanded it of me, since my arrival from Bermuda, and I paid it to Mr. Coore for him, with 18 years interest at the rate of 6 p. cent a year. So far was Mr. L. from thinking this a severe demand, that he even though it reasonable to ask for interest upon interest. Your own candour and ingenuity will lead you to the reflexions, I wish you to make upon this case, and to believe me to be affectionately yours.

Our kind regards as usual

Mrs. Wilkinson

\* \* \*

Feb. 6. 1793 I had a long conversation with Mr. John Darby<sup>18</sup> of the Old Jewry, respecting my demand upon Colonel Wanton's heirs: the purport of which was, on his part, that the heirs of Colonel Wanton had not received £500. for loss of property:—that in fact £110 only had been allowed for loss of property, as had appeared to him from a private communication of one of the Commissioners;—that the rest was granted for their loyalty:—that £1800 had been paid them at first, and £1100 afterwards:—that until there was an administration, the heirs could not be called upon, nor then if they refused to consider themselves as heirs:—that the State of R. Island had administered, and made themselves accountable to the Creditors, and it was probable that there is a balance in their hands;—that I ought to apply to them, and not to the heirs:—That, though he had no authority for it, yet as the parties had been pleased to place a confidence in him, he would in confidence listen to terms of accommodation; which should go no farther, if not concluded: that he would not name any sum, but he was certain that Mr. Atherton would never consent to pay £200 on J.W.'s part: upon it being said that £839 — was the amount of principal and interest, he broke off the conversation, by saying that if interest was mentioned, he would have nothing farther to do with it; and that he would write that evening to Atherton, and advise him not to pay a farthing.

<sup>18</sup>John Darby was possibly the brother of Christopher Darby. He was the legal adviser of Messrs. Atherton, Morrison, Wilkinson and Darby. He gave Browne the unpalatable information to the effect that Colonel Wanton's heirs were not liable and that the only redress was through a suit to the State of Rhode Island.



John Smibert

R.I.H.S.

GOVERNOR JOSEPH WANTON, 1705-1780

(on temporary loan at the Hunter House, Newport)

X Upon finding the letter referred to, it appeared to be for loss of *personal property*.

\* \* \*

London, Percy street, March 5. 1793.

Sir

Your letter of the 31. of august last, inclosing copy of J. and W.W's bond and Henry Uththoff's draft on the Board of Ordnance here, came safe to hand. The bill was accepted and duly paid.

Your settlement of the Note was quite satisfactory to me. I should not have hesitated a moment to have done the same. I give you many thanks for the assistance you have afforded me in this disagreeable business.

My settlement with Colonel Wanton's heirs turns out as I at first suspected it would; and I fear, that before I get through it, I shall have repeated occasions to repent, that I ever consented to look to them for any part of the debt.

A severe illness, which has confined me to my house for several months past, has added to the difficulties, which their shifts and evasions have created, and has hitherto prevented my commencing a suit against them: but, as I have resolved upon it, at the return of the Bar from their present Circuit, I am to request that you would be so good as to send me by the first safe conveyance the original Bond.

I have the honour to be with esteem and respect.

Sir

your obliged  
humble servant

#

The Honble  
Mr. Bliss

\* \* \*

Feb. 6. 1793.

Dear Madam

I embrace the earliest opportunity &c. &c. &c.

Mrs. Wilkinson

Percy street, march 12. 1793.

Dear Madam

The preceeding is copy of my letter of the 6th. of the last month; which I repeat, because it may have failed of reaching your hands. If it did not fail, I must now request, that you would favour me with a line

by the return of the Mail, that I may be relieved from my present embarrassment, and no longer restrained from pursuing my legal remedy against those heirs, who refuse to do me the justice, which I am entitled to expect from them. As you was so good as to acknowledge the debt in your letter of the 23rd. of January last, and wished only to ascertain your proportion of it, if any difficulty occurs to you therein, which I can assist in removing, I shall be happy to attend to your farther communications upon the subject.

I am sorry that Captain W. did not call upon me when he was in Town the other day. An interview might have facilitated the settlement, and put an end to the uneasiness, of which you so feelingly complain.

As to the immediate payment you mention, I trust you will not think it a motive to my present writing. Capt. W. will take his own time, and consult his own convenience therein. Much less will you suppose, that I imagine from your silence, that you mean to shrink from your engagement. I have too much candour to suspect it — you have too much honour to attempt it. I only want a settlement, that I may know what I have to expect from you. Relying upon your goodness, I trust to your constant attention and rest with esteem

Dr. Mm.

sincerely yours

Mrs. Wilkinson

\* \* \*

Percy street, march 22. 1793.

Dear Madam

I am waiting with impatience to learn what can occasion your silence after all that has past between us upon the subject of our correspondence. In my letter of the 12th. current, I stated to you the inconvenience I suffer from your delaying to assure to me the part you have assumed to pay. The near approach of Easter term obligates me to repeat my request, that I may hear from you immediately. I must commence my suit in a few days: it only remains therefore for you to signify, whether you mean to be included in it, and to submit a paternal obligation, fortified by your own personal promise, to a trial at Law. As this idea militates with all my impressions of your character and circumstances, it increases my difficulty to account for your inattention to me. Good G—d! to what imperious and baneful influence shall I impute it, that you are rendred torpid in a case that I should think would stimulate your nicest feelings and most acute sensibility. Pray, my dear Madam, rouse from your lethargy; consult your own honour, not the humour of other people.

I no longer see any prospect of compromising in the matter with the other heirs, and accordingly I entertain no farther hopes of maintaining an amicable intercourse with them upon the subject. They have received impressions, and adopted ideas, as unfriendly to their own honour, as to my ease and interest. But however painful and injurious this may be to me, it will never make me regret, that I once served a very worthy man, whose love and esteem for me was my pride and my pleasure. It has been my wish and endeavour to cultivate the good will of those, who follow him; and I will still hope that I may not be wholly unsuccessful therein.

I am with constancy and consideration

Dear Madam

your sincerely

Mrs. Wilkinson

\* \* \*

Monday April 1. 1793. I had a conversation with Mr. J. Darby, at his request in the Old Jewry; when he offered to pay me £250 on the part of the heirs, if that would procure their discharge. This I utterly rejected, and declared that I would never settle with the heirs of J.W. on any other terms but those I had submitted to with W.W.

\* \* \*

See the opinion of O. Cromwell<sup>19</sup> Esq. of Essex-street, Strand.  
paid 1 guinea.

\* \* \*

Percy street, March 5. 1793.

Dear Sir

I have received your favours of the 20th of august and 24th of oct. last.

It has turned out as I expected, when you referred me to the Representatives of our late brother Wanton to contribute to the discharge of the bond. In answer to my application they proposed at first to consult together, and promised, that they would then do what should appear to be just and reasonable. As they live at a great distance from each other, and from me too, this consumed many months; but was a meer evasion, for I am persuaded that from the beginning they never intended

<sup>19</sup>Oliver Cromwell was a descendant of the Protector and a solicitor in London. He acted for Browne in the case against his relations. Cromwell had some other claims to fame as the author of *Memoirs of the Protector Oliver Cromwell, and of his sons, Richard and Henry*.

to pay a farthing.

I was taken ill last autumn and reduced so low that I was not able to do any kind of business for 5 months. As soon as I could attend to my affairs I wrote to Mrs. Wilkinson and explained to her in a long letter the nature and circumstances of her father's engagement, and represented how dishonourable it would be to leave me without reparation for the damage I had sustained in consequence of it. She at first pretended to feel great uneasiness on account of it, and said she would pay her part; but I have since wrote her three letters, and can obtain no answer to any of them.

I applied to Mr. Coore for a writ against them, but he doubted, if I could maintain my action, and thought he could settle it with J. Darby, who is made the Agent of the whole Squadron: but this came to nothing, for after a deal of time and pains spent about it, J.D. would consent to pay only £250 which I utterly refused.

I then laid a state of the Case before an eminent Councillor at Common Law, and a Solicitor in Chancery, and I am now waiting to receive their opinions.

The chief objection of the heirs is, that I ought to have taken the whole from their Uncle, for that he was received from Government £1600 in which they are equally interested and entitled with him and he withholds it from them. How this is I know not; but I know that I will never abandon my claim while there is a possibility of recovering satisfaction from them, for their behaviour appears to me to be infinitely base and dishonourable. I request that you would assist me with your advice and opinion and with whatever occurs to your mind that may promote my intentions. I have stated several questions, which I beg you to resolve by the first opportunity as it is almost impossible to obtain information here from any public Office respecting the doings of the late Commissioners.

1. By whom and in whose name was the Memorial preferred in behalf of the heirs of Joseph Wanton?

2. Can you send me a copy of it.

3. Was any proof made before the commissioners of J. Wanton's losses and what?

4. Was the debt to W.B. confessed by the Memorialists and deducted by the Commissioners from the allowance made to the heirs.

5. Had they the same compensation with W.W.?

6. If there was a difference whence did it arise?

7. Why was the compensation for the heirs of J.W. made payable to W.W.



8. Do the heirs of J.W. hold any part of his estate, or have they received any benefit from it since his death and what?

Your letter, it seems, has made Madam very angry. I am much obliged to you for your attention to me therein. I return the copy as I know that she received the Original.

Mr. Bliss is a very good man, and I wish I could serve him, I see him often, but that is all I can do for him, and what is still worse, I fear he will not be able to do much for himself.

Your sister and her Girls join me cordially in the kindest regards to Mrs. W. and yourself.

Adieu

W.B.

P.S. Let me hear from you by the first opportunity and depend upon it I will use my utmost endeavours to make your brother's children do their duty.

Please to disperse the inclosed letters as addressed.

Wm. Wanton Esq.

\* \* \*

London, April 21. 1794.

Dear Sir

I have not had an opportunity till now of acknowledging your letter of the 6th of June last, which I duly received.

The copy you sent me of your letter to your niece really astonished me; as I found it the reverse of what she had represented it. I had imagined from her account of it, that you had hastily used some very harsh and unjustifiable expressions towards her. I little thought to have found it breathing nothing but tenderness and persuasion. What can I think of her, who could vilify a person, to whom she owes so many obligations; and what good can I expect from her?

I now subjoin copies of the opinions of Council upon my claim to be paid by your brother's heirs part of the joint debt of Joseph and William Wanton. From thence you will learn how little hopes I have of succeeding in my demand upon them. You will carefully consider them, and give me your thoughts upon them. Before Mr. Baldwin delivered me his opinion he advised with Mr. Foster, the Secretary of the late American Commission, and he concurred with him in his sentiments upon the subject.

I have used with them every means in my power; sometimes endeavouring to persuade them; sometimes threatening to expose them;

but to no purpose: they seem to me to be destitute of every sentiment of of honour and of honesty: defending themselves from my reproaches by meanly skulking behind one another. I would lay before you a copy of my correspondence with them, but it is much too voluminous to transcribe and too vexatious to review. On this occasion, it is a natural and reasonable reflexion to wish, as a punishment due to their ingratitude and their baseness, that they also may one day want a friend, and not be able to find one.

Your sister and neices unite with me in our respective kind salutes to Mrs. Wanton and yourself.

I am Dear Sir affectionately yours  
with copies of the opinions of Mr. Baldwin  
and Mr. Cromwell.  
Wm. Wanton Esq.

\* \* \*

London, Percy street, May 8. 1794.

Dear Sir

Mr. Finucane was so good as to deliver to me your letter covering Messrs. Wantons' original bond. I give you many thanks for your attention to me therein, and for the kind concern you are pleased to express for my farther success in the business. Whatever disposition Captain Darby may have discovered in New Brunswick, I assure you, he has manifested no desire or design to do me justice in England. I have no prospect of being able to persuade Col. Wanton's heirs to contribute effectually to the discharge of the demand, and I have no encouragement from the Council I have consulted to attempt to compel them to it. I have sent Mr. Wanton for his consideration the best opinions I could obtain, and I wait to receive his thoughts upon them.

I am with esteem and regard  
dear sir

your much obliged & obedt. servt.

#  
The Honble  
J. Bliss Esq.  
St. John  
New Brunswick.

## EARLY 19TH CENTURY PROVIDENCE EXPORTS TO BRAZIL

by EARL C. TANNER\*

Assistant to the Director, Project Matterhorn, Princeton University

A UNIQUE SOURCE for the study of Providence exports to Brazil is available in the form of an anonymous notebook, apparently written by a Rhode Island merchant in the first decade of the 19th century.<sup>1</sup> The observations on commodities contained in this notebook, taken in conjunction with a typical manifest, afford a clear view of this branch of Providence export trade.

On May 18, 1811, the brig *Industry*, John Gladding, master, sailed from Providence for the coast of Brazil. She was eleven years old, Providence built, and Providence owned. She had a burden of 165<sup>37</sup>/<sub>95</sub> tons and measured 77'6" x 22'2" x 11'1".<sup>2</sup> Her crew consisted of nine men and her cargo of assorted goods was worth \$7,540.15. As may be seen from the following manifest, the cargo of the *Industry* included foreign goods to the value of \$3,070.14 and domestic goods to the value of \$4,470.01:<sup>3</sup>

10 casks codfish	\$ 225.00
30 boxes sperm candles	330.00
41 barrels pilot bread	205.00
10 barrels mess beef	110.00
10 barrels mess pork	220.00
470 bushels corn	320.00
12 whole and 6 half casks gin	250.97
50 barrels flour	560.50
1 hogshead and 1 barrel ham	96.54
12 half barrels gin	153.00
5 moses boats	90.00
2 boxes American cotton goods	600.00
1 case fancy goods	1,524.14
90 bundles nankeens	1,170.00

\*This article is adapted from the author's *Trade between the Port of Providence and Latin America 1800 to 1830* (typed Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1951), 41-49.

<sup>1</sup>This Trader's Book has sections on Marseilles, Barcelona, Canton, Manila, India in general, Bengal, Leghorn, Trieste, Rio de Janeiro, River Plate, Bahia, and Pernambuco. It is at The Rhode Island Historical Society and has the call number Vault m-C-736.

<sup>2</sup>Survey of Federal Archives, Division of Community Service Programs, Work Projects Administration, *Ship Registers and Enrollments of Providence, Rhode Island, 1773-1939* (Providence, 1941), I, 531-532.

<sup>3</sup>Providence Customhouse Papers at The Rhode Island Historical Society.

5 chests Hyson Skin tea	183.00
2 hogsheads ham	162.00
10 half barrels beef	60.00
45 dozen cider	135.00
164 pieces nankeens	193.00
9 cases furniture	300.00
cordage	600.00

The first item on the manifest of the *Industry* is codfish. According to the notebook, annual consumption in Brazil was 20,000 quintals, much being sent overland from Rio to Minas Gerais. Furthermore, Napoleon's invasion of Portugal had lately caused a considerable exodus to Brazil of codfish-eating Portuguese, including the royal household. This resulted in a growing demand at Rio for New England codfish. The price on the Brazilian market was about \$13.15 the quintal as compared with \$3. or \$4. in the United States. The notebook observes, in part:

The principal requisite as to the quality is that they should be small, white and very dry and it is not very important how they are packed providing your package is tight and your fish arrive in good order which by all means ought to be the case. It perhaps would be well to have them packed in a box of 132 pounds each which is exactly the Portuguese quintal and as they are sold by that weight here it might be a convenient package both to yourself and the purchaser.<sup>4</sup>

Spermaceti candles, item #2 on the manifest, were regarded with considerably less confidence. However, "100 boxes might with safety be taken in." A small quantity would generally sell at 62½¢ to 75¢, twice the price in the United States. There was a 14¢ duty but "you may often pass them at the Custom House for tallow candles by which the duty will be much reduced."<sup>5</sup>

Pilot bread, the third item on the manifest of the *Industry*, was fully approved by the author of the notebook. "Of this article," he wrote, "if of good quality, hard baked, and so packed as to be kept perfectly sweet and in good order a good sale may generally be effected. It is now selling at 9000 reas or \$11.25 per Portuguese qtal. which is \$9.54 qtal. This is not the highest price according to the average and there has been a ready sale."<sup>6</sup>

Beef and pork, the next items on the manifest of the *Industry*, were, if the notebook may be trusted, destined to sell poorly. "Little or none of these will do in this market as the Portuguese use but very

<sup>4</sup>Notebook, 119.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 126.

little of it indeed, substituting jerk beef and the pork of their own country, of which latter immense quantities are brought from the mines, made up in rolls and packed in baskets and brought to market on mules as the coffee, cheese, etc."<sup>7</sup>

The author of the notebook has no comments on item #6, corn, but has a number of useful remarks on item #7, gin:

Of this article, there is a great and steady consumption in this market and it is always a ready sale. Perhaps 100 pipes and 200 or 300 cases in a cargo would not be too much. It is now worth, in cases, 8000 reas, or \$10 each, and in pipes, 1500 reas, or \$1.87½ per gallon. It is recommended to have a considerable part of an investment of this article in small packages, say barrels, kegs of 10 gallons, etc., but demi-johns are not so strongly recommended as you pay a considerable duty on the demijohns, which is avoided in casks.

Gin, of . . . the weakest [proof] is equally as good for this market as any & if you purchase it of a high proof it had better be reduced before your arrival than here as the trouble you will have in doing it in Rio de Janeiro would more than compensate for the extra duty you would pay at the Custom House on the water with which it is reduced.

There is but little distinction made in this market between Holland's or American gin provided each is tolerably good of the sort, but if Holland's is to be purchased as low . . . it ought, of course, to have the preference.<sup>8</sup>

The next item on the manifest of the *Industry*, flour, was somewhat questionable. Rio de Janeiro was accustomed to draw for its supplies on Rio Grande wheat "which is plenty at all times and much inferior to the American."<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, the opening of Brazil to foreign trade coincided with the American Embargo Act. For a year and a half barrels of American wheat piled up on American wharves and grew stale. Consequently, when the Embargo was lifted the first supplies to go out were "not of a very good quality." They sold at \$7.50 per barrel, "but it is presumed that usually a better price may be calculated upon if your flour arrives in good order."<sup>10</sup> Perhaps the *Industry's* flour was intended for Bahia, in which case it might be expected to do better. Bahia, being at a great distance from the River Plate and the Rio Grande, was less dependent on those sources than was Rio de Janeiro and had, at the time

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 126.

the notebook was written, recently paid as much as \$15 a barrel.<sup>11</sup> (The author of the notebook could not foresee that ten years later an acute flour shortage in Brazil would cause even Providence ships to sail for Rio de Janeiro laden wholly with flour. In normal times, Brazil bought considerable quantities from Baltimore.)

The notebook comment on hams is brief but favorable. Hams in good order would sell at 37½¢ a pound, about three times the price in Providence. "In this article," suggested the author, "the more they resemble Lisbon hams, the better they will be likely to sell."<sup>12</sup>

Boats, item #11 on the manifest, were rated excellent, having sold in Brazil at an advance of 300% on cost. The best size was four to six oars and the best materials were chestnut and pine.<sup>13</sup> The boats on board the *Industry* were probably pine and the products of Cumberland, Rhode Island.

American cotton goods are not mentioned in the notebook, but foreign textiles are treated in detail, several samples being pasted onto the pages. The comment on nankeens is interesting.

The consumption for this article is great but the price in the market depends much upon the importation direct from India in the Portuguese ships. Usual prices are from 1000 to 1500 reas or from \$1.25 to \$1.87½ per piece for the common short pieces when of good quality. The same kind are now sold, however, on board, free of duty, at about \$1.25.

This article, provided you have furniture on board, may frequently be stored in that furniture and by that means got on shore without paying duties without much risk.<sup>14</sup>

Among the other types of fancy goods recommended and described were platillas, casserillas, Bretagnes, dowlas, and estopillas—all linens. "The Spanish and Portuguese," says the notebook, "have decided preference for the linens particularly of Silicia over the cotton manufactures of England or any other substitute." English silks were no more in favor. "Of silk good manufactures of France and Germany will always answer at this market & they will also at all times take the lead over British manufactures of the same kind as they are generally more fanciful or have a greater display of taste. . . ." Satins, taffetas, and crepes were especially recommended.<sup>15</sup>

Furniture, the next item on the manifest of the *Industry* to be

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 167. <sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 122. <sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 117. <sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 128. <sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 129-141.

discussed by the author of the notebook, was rated a superior commodity.

This article when selected will answer well in any reasonable quantities and will generally sell at an advance of 75 to 80% from the first cost. Several considerable parcels have arrived from the United States of late & they appear to have been much demanded as the inhabitants have really been hurrying for a choice and they have all sold in a few days and for cash and a very handsome profit.<sup>16</sup>

The author went on to describe the types of furniture most in demand: sideboards, dining-room tables, bedsteads, bureaus, wardrobes, desks, chairs, etc. "This furniture," he said, "should be of the best workmanship & mahogany, or rather it should be so in appearance. . . ." He recommended that a little spare mahogany be taken along for repairs as none was available in Brazil.<sup>17</sup>

Cordage, the last item on the manifest was, like most of the rest of the cargo, well chosen. It would do well at Rio and even better at Bahia, center of Brazilian shipbuilding. The notebook records that cordage was in constant demand. "30 or 40 tons," it said, "might with safety be put into a cargo of 400 tons. It ought to be assorted from 4" rope to cables of 15 or 18", as that of a smaller size, say from 4" down to spun yarn, will not usually sell so well." A safe price to calculate on was \$25 the quintal, about a \$10 advance over cost. Russian and American cordage were equally esteemed, but duties on the former were \$2.29 and duties on the latter, \$1.14. Whatever the origin, therefore, "it is obvious that it ought by no means be passed at the Customs House as Russian if it can be avoided."<sup>18</sup>

The cargo of the *Industry* was typical; it could not, however, include all of the items commonly exported from Providence to Brazil. Butter, for example, was an article recommended by the notebook. "It ought to be of a good quality—yellow in color & put up in such a manner as to keep perfectly sweet, hard, and good & if put into firkins resembling those the Irish butter is shipped in may not be amiss—taking all these precautions you may ship considerable large parcels & calculate to get 40¢ per pound at least."<sup>19</sup> The price in Providence was about 15¢.

Wines would also do well. "The kinds most suitable for the market

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

are the red Spanish wines, say that of Catalonia, or as near that description as possible—let it be, however, of a sufficient body to warrant its keeping in a warm climate.”<sup>20</sup> The Brazilian price was \$125 the pipe, as compared with perhaps half as much in Providence.

If more manufactured goods were to be shipped, boots and shoes might be selected. “Of these articles, it is not necessary to have the very best kinds, but have them by all means handsome, well finished & showy.”<sup>21</sup> (Had the author of the notebook written fifteen years later he would have had more to say about domestic manufactures. The same factors which in the 1820’s increased the amount of domestically manufactured exports to the Caribbean also affected cargoes for Brazil. Domestic manufactures, particularly cloth, took the place of part of the foreign re-exports.)

Not only cargoes, but also the vessels themselves were sometimes sold. The following sales and bids were recorded by the author of the notebook:

The brig *Matilda* of Providence . . . a vessel not worth above \$2000 in America sold for 6000 Dollars.

Ship *Cordelia* of Philadelphia, a plain eastern built ship of 255 tons register, could be sold at 20,000 Dollars.

Schooners of 100 tons, wooden bottomed, as all are to which I refer, sold for £2,200 sterling, say 9,770 Dollars.

For the ship *Passenger* of New York, a common and, I believe, Connecticut built ship of 230 tons register, 18,000 Dollars might have been obtained.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.





## BOOK REVIEW

*General John Glover and his Marblehead Mariners.* By George Athan Billias, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1960, xii, 243p. illus. \$5.50.

Not often can a biographer choose a romantic war hero for his subject and find that the facts back the myth to the hilt. Both scholars and casual readers will be delighted that Dr. Billias has written about General John Glover and his seamen-soldiers. Those of us with a political turn of mind will also be grateful that we may become acquainted with another man of that critical period in our history. We can better praise and explain our way of life if we know more of how and why it came about and of those who saw to it that it did.

In order to dispose quickly of the only serious criticism that might be made, there seems no good reason to describe in Chapter I Glover's greatest achievement, the ferrying of Washington's army across the Delaware. History produced a fine sequence all by itself. The battles of Trenton and Princeton, at the nadir of patriot fortunes, after innumerable defeats and retreats, gave a great lift to the army and the people, a horrid shock to the British. To relate them out of order lessens the impact which they had at that particular time. But, chronological or not, the tale is told with verve, clarity, and detail. Washington sits safely in the boat and the monumental Knox is told in no uncertain terms not to rock it.

Glover's building and rebuilding of his fortunes before and after the war come through as an admirable success story, unfamiliar to most readers. For him to risk a happy family life and wealth and to lose a soldier son, emphasizes the sacrifices our forefathers made.

Glover, the first amphibious officer, was also unique in the army of the Revolution—a believer in discipline, whose troops responded. Dr. Billias points out that his original regiment was made up of sailors accustomed to obey a captain. How much more quickly victory might have come had such a regiment stiffened the front line of every battle!

In civilian life Glover rose from shoemaker and fisherman to sea captain, merchant, and shipowner. A patriot from the start of the crisis, he left Marblehead as colonel of the regiment. From Cambridge he returned to the Massachusetts seacoast to help Washington improvise the navy. From there he went to New York and accomplished his first incomparable feat when he and his men, overnight, brought the entire army from Brooklyn to Manhattan. In his first independent command at Pell's Point he managed with about 750 men to delay 4,000 Hessians and British for several hours. As the author comments, this battle has been too often overlooked.

The descriptions of the incident are apt to be as brief though more accurate, at least as to the size of the American force, than that of Sir Henry Clinton who wrote: "As we advanced we found the enemy strongly posted behind stone walls, from whence they might have greatly obstructed our march had it not been for the corps I had detached to the right—the number of the enemy being said to have been at least 14,000. The Commander in Chief joined us here and, the rebels being forced to quit the highroad, the gross of our army

lay this night on their great communication with New England." Glover here proved himself an excellent strategist in choosing the ground, a gifted tactician in directing his troops.

After the triumph at Trenton and Princeton Glover's next active assignment was with Gates against Burgoyne, but the records do not show that he was ever ordered into the fight. In 1778 on Rhode Island, he had plenty of action, though it was brief. With his usual firmness and initiative he directed a most telling delaying action before joining the necessary retreat after the departure of the French fleet. He did not, it seems bring the troops back to the mainland. This was his final engagement, although he held, for a time, a potentially dangerous post near the British lines at Lower Salem, New York and in 1781 and 1782 was stationer at West Point.

Dr. Billias has made use of unfamiliar and well-known sources and has displayed thoughtful judgment and imagination in choosing, arranging, and drawing conclusions from the material. His style has color, lucidity, and a bit of humor. The result is a vivid re-creation of Glover, his contemporaries, and the eighteenth century world in which they lived.

New York City

ELIZABETH HARRIET DREW

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## NEWS-NOTES

Mrs. Virginia C. Catton, who joined the staff as secretary in the library in September, 1956, left in April of this year. She has been succeeded by Mrs. Frank W. Holland. Mrs. Edith D. Pye has replaced Miss Matilda M. Coffey in the first floor office.

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A large collection of autographs and manuscripts, many of them relating to Bristol, has been given to the Society by Messrs. Carl W. and Rudolph F. Haffenreffer.

\* \* \*

Papers and records of Edward Carrington & Company, a leading Providence mercantile firm in the first half of the nineteenth century, have been received from the Rhode Island School of Design. From The Providence Preservation Society we have received the original plans of the Sullivan Dorr House, Providence, built in 1809-10, and the file of bills for its construction.

Mr. John H. Wells continues his invaluable work of indexing previously unindexed printed and manuscript genealogies. Several of them have been reproduced on microcards by the Godfrey Memorial Library of Middletown, Connecticut. Mrs. John F. Westman has typed a number of the indexes compiled by Mr. Wells. We have also had the help of three volunteer workers from the Junior League of Providence: Miss Grimes, Mrs. Almgren, and Mrs. Trowbridge, who have arranged some of the unsorted manuscript collections in chronological order and done typing. Without the aid of volunteers none of this important work could have been done.

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Plans are being made for the publication as a separate volume of the catalog of the Society's furniture collection, which has appeared as a serial in *Rhode Island History*.

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#### NEW MEMBERS

March 30 — May 27, 1960

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|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Mr. & Mrs. David Giles Carter | Mr. Paul McNeil               |
| Mr. & Mrs. George Lyle Church | East Greenwich, R. I.         |
| Mr. Walter Adams Crocker, Jr. | Mrs. Austin Merewether        |
| Riverside, R. I.              | East Providence, R. I.        |
| Mr. and Mrs. John D'Abate     | Reverend Herman G. Patt       |
| Johnston, R. I.               | Granville, Massachusetts      |
| Mrs. C. Coburn Darling        | Mr. Arthur F. Pettet          |
| Mr. & Mrs. Malcom Farmer, Jr. | Lincoln, R. I.                |
| North Kingstown, R. I.        | Mrs. Clarence H. Philbrick    |
| Mr. Seth K. Gifford           | Mr. Bernard R. Pollock        |
| Pawtucket, R. I.              | Barrington, R. I.             |
| Mr. and Mrs. Kimball S. Green | Mr. and Mrs. Walter P. Rayner |
| West Kingston, R. I.          | Rumford, R. I.                |
| Mr. Edward H. Hastings        | Mr. and Mrs. Paul L. Richards |
| East Providence, R. I.        | Barrington, R. I.             |
| Mrs. J. Irving McDowell       | Mrs. Charles Henry Watts      |
|                               | Mr. Thomas R. Woods           |
|                               | Rumford, R. I.                |



